ago it was wretched. Ten years ago you were dead.

"And within three years, as I said, you have succeeded in awakening the political conciousness of Muslim India from one end to the other of this sub-continent. The Muslim League has given you a national flag. The Muslim League has given you a common platform. The Muslim League has given you a goal which in my judgment is going to lead you to the promised land where we shall establish our Pakistan. (Cheers).

People may say what they like and talk as they like. Of course he who laugh last, laughs best.

"Now what is required further is, as I have been impressing whenever I have the opportunity, a definite clearcut constructive programme, side by side with our political activities.

Be cheerful

"We feel that we have no friends. We feel that we are surrounded by opponents from all directions, and particularly about your province let me say a word. You are only four per cent in this province and you have gone through, as I said and as I anticipated in my speech as far back as 1937 at Lucknow, you have gone through the crucible of fire in this province. You have suffered. You are only four per cent in this province where is made an experiment of a new technique in the special laboratory of Wardha. No possible means were spared to terrorise you, to hurl you down. Of course, it is obvious that the policy that was pursued was not only unjust, not only unfair, but most cowardly to terrorise four per cent of the population. (Cries of Shame, Shame.)

"There is no reason for you to be dejected. I tell you from this platform that I never felt more proud in my life than when I saw and heard and read about the magnificent stand that the Muslims of this province took. Suffer we have to.

Qa'id-e-Azam Explains Political Situation

(Continued.)

No nation was built and ever achieved its ambition without suffering and sacrifice. Therefore, it is obvious that this wretched constitution which was enacted in 1935, and even the provincial part of it, has been a dismal failure in this country. We shall have to revise our notions and our ideals. But I want the Muslims of this province to be cheerful and keep a stout heart, and I assure you that nothing will succeed which is unjust, unfair and dishonest.

"I was telling you that so far as the Muslim League is concerned we are going faster than many people imagine. In our unity, in our solidarity and in our progress in various directions, all that I urge upon you, my young friends and others present here, is that the key is in your hands. Do not depend upon anybody. You know, I will not preach aggressiveness. The Muslim League has always been on the defensive. I have always said it. It is no concession and it is no favour.

No Surrender

"I have always said that we have no designs on the Hindu community or any other of the sister communities. But we cannot and we shall not surrender or submit to their domination and their Raj in this sub-continent.

"Look at the position now. You find on the one hand the present political situation and how the different organisations, Hindu organisations, are active. You have got, in the first instance, the most powerful and the best organised Hindu body, the Congress.

"I cannot understand that even to-day the Congress leaders have not the honesty and the frankness to recognise that they do not represent the Muslims. What is the use of talking about the divine Rashtrapathi, taking him as a show-boy. Whom are you misleading except yourself? Whom are you deluding except yourself? You know, I know, the world knows, that to-day there is no doubt left in the mind of any man who has got a grain of common sense that the All-India Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims. Bardoli is still in darkness (Laughter) and I pray from Nagpur, in the vicinity of Wardha and Sewagram, that God may throw some light on Bardoli.

"Now, what does the Congress want? Sometimes it is difficult to know exactly what they want. It reminds me of Tennyson's words. He says: 'I sometimes think it a sin to put in words the thoughts I feel.'

Congress Position

"So far as words go and so far as any intelligent man can read those words, I will venture to say what I understand of the position of the Congress. The official resolution and the official stand of the Congress is that Congress wants the British Government to declare the independence of India immediately with the right of the people of this country to frame their own constitution by means of a constituent assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise. Then the Muslims will be favoured to be elected by their separate electorates. When the Muslim interests in this Assembly feel not satisfied with the decision of the Assembly—and arithmetically it is as certain as night follows day, and I know that the Muslims will not be satisfied because in that constituent assembly there will be 75 per cent of Hindus and I can give you hundreds of instances in the last three years, that on no important question has there been an agreement in any of the composite bodies that were set up where you had an overwhelming majority of the Hindus and a minority of the Muslims—the privilege that will be accorded to us is that we can resort to some sort of arbitration. Who will appoint the personnel of the tribunal of arbitration? If I have to appoint the arbitrators of my choice, will they accept it? If not, who is to choose them? If we do not agree upon the choice of the arbitrators then what is to happen? But apart from all that we are told that we shall only be confined to the question of the safeguards as a minority. With regard to the other issues, the majority will decide. That, as I understand, is the official stand of the Congress.

Stand by It

"The creed of the Congress is, as it has been recently interpreted by front-rank leaders like Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, complete independence.

"Mr. Jawaharlal, in a very recent speech said, in quoting Cromwell, in so many words that the British must get out of this country. Well now, if that is your stand, stand by it like a man. Do not whine. Why do you ask the British Government to make a declaration and why do you ask the British Government to give facilities for having a constituent assembly. Like a man, stand by it and say to the British 'get out' in the words of Cromwell.

"Then comes the Muslim divine, Rashtrapathi Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. What does he say?

"The spokesman and the President of the Indian National Congress says that unless the British Government change they cannot change. But if the British Government

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